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ABSTRACT

Experience-based learning has been evident in the Chinese educational system since the 1930s. Following the Long March in 1934-35, the Chinese Communists introduced a nonformal, experience-based educational system in North Shensi province. This system included drama groups in the countryside to educate peasants, classes in factories, and discussion groups in the fields. At the same time, Mao Tse-Tung wrote his essay "On Practice" in which he stated that practice takes precedence over theory. In 1949 a temporary Chinese constitution included a continued emphasis on experience-based learning by stressing practical technical and agricultural education. Mass literacy campaigns in the early 1950s encouraged rural farmers to read and to create their own textbooks for farming. With the Great Leap Forward in 1958 came decentralization of education, development of local curriculum, criticism of professional teachers, and opening of work-study schools. In the early 1960s revisionists attacked the economic failures of the Great Leap Forward and consequently experience-based learning suffered a setback. But in 1966 the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution reaffirmed the closing of universities, and students and teachers were sent to the country to learn productive labor. Some schools formed their own factories, and May 7 cadre schools combined manual labor with political study. In 1976 changes were made in the educational system to reinstate professional teachers, upgrade standards, and limit admission. Experience-based learning continues to persist in China, but not as comprehensively as it was during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. (AV)

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Experiential Learning

in

Revolutionary and Post-Revolutionary China

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Experiential Learning in Revolutionary and Post-Revolutionary China

"All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience,"[1] wrote China's most important educational theorist, Mao Tse-Tung in his famous essay On Practice in 1937. One year later, Mao's American educational counterpart, John Dewey, wrote Experience and Education [2], his treatise on learning through experience as opposed to learning only from texts and teachers in the classroom. Both the People's Republic of China and the United States of America have experimented with various forms of experience-based learning in the forty years since those essays were written, but without question, the lengths to which this "progressive" movement went, were vastly greater in China than in the United States. It is not our purpose here to analyze why radical or progressive ideas caught hold in China as opposed to this country, although the obvious political, social and economic differences of the two societies, led to their adoption and eventual rejection in China, and their slowly growing acceptance in the United States. Suffice it to say that the varying emphases upon action and reflection, theory and practice, or life-experience and school learning, have been a major part of the changes in Chinese education throughout the past forty years.

Traditional Chinese education was an elitist system, largely based on Confucian classics. Difficult examinations, following long years of study, effectively limited it to the upper classes. Contact with the West in the mid-19th century and the defeat by the Japanese in 1895, followed by the founding of the Republic in 1911, led to modifications in the traditional educational system, as the Chinese saw the increasing need for skilled government officials to run the country. John Dewey and Bertrand Russell both visited China in the early part of this century, and many Western ideas were adopted, but the system remained basically elitist, with the vast majority of the population (upwards of 90%) remaining illiterate,

and without any formal education whatsoever.

The Chinese Communists did not wait to gain control of the whole nation to begin experimentation with a new system of education. Following the Long March in 1934 and 1935, the Communists structured the new educational system in North Shensi province. The system was to be for the masses, and although there were primary and middle schools, as well as higher educational institutions, a whole range of non-formal educational processes were set in motion during those years. It is these non-formal educational processes, which I have labeled experience-based learning, that will be addressed in this paper. The formal educational system will, of course, have to be dealt with, as revolutionary thought holds that the whole society is a school, but it will not be the major focus of attention.

In Red Star Over China,[3] his classic work on the Long March, Edgar Snow comments on the search for and sharing of knowledge among the soldiers not on front line duty. Everyone was a teacher and everyone a learner, prompting observers in Yenan to comment that the area seemed like a big elementary school. Many of the non-formal schooling processes experimented with in the Cultural Revolution of 1966-76 were first begun in the late thirties and early forties around Yenan. Wall newspapers and posters, classes in the factories, drama groups in the countryside "educating" the peasants, discussion groups in the fields, factories and homes, and special literacy classes were but a few of the non-formal educational activities started at Yenan.

It was also during this time that many of Mao Tse-Tung's most important educational works were written in his cave home in Yenan. Perhaps his most important work was his essay, On Practice, referred to at the start of this paper. In it, Mao lays down the basic thesis that practice takes precedence over theory, a position which was to be accepted and rejected in regular swings of the pendulum for the next forty years in the formal and non-formal educational systems.

> The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge places practice in the primary position, holding that human knowledge can in no way be separated from practice and repudiating all the erroneous theories which deny the importance of practice.[4] Thus Lenin said, "Practice is higher than (theoretical) knowledge, for it has not only the dignity of universality,

but also of immediate actuality.[5]

The location of where learning should take place was also a major theme in the essay, with Mao once again sounding like John Dewey in his emphasis upon the need to escape the confines of the classroom and enter into the real world..

> Whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it, that is, by living (practising) in its environment.[6]

This point became not only the basis for the initial experiments in Yenan to break away from the formal, traditional school structure, but continued to serve as a basis for many of the reforms of the Cultural Revolution in which, at times, it appeared that "education" occured only outside the classroom, and that anything done in the schools was but "mere intellectualism."
Mao, however, was cognizant that not all knowledge could be directly experienced.

> "But one cannot have direct experience of everything; as a matter of fact, most of our knowledge comes from indirect experience,..what is indirect experience for me is direct experience for other people. Consequently, considered as a whole, knowledge of any kind is inseparable from direct experience."[7]

It is a matter of emphasis, however, throughout Chinese educational history as to which, direct or indirect, experience should be emphasized, with Mao and the radicals emphasizing the direct, and the revisionists or conservatives emphasizing the indirect.

The great Brazilian educational philosopher, Paulo Freire, in his Pedagogy of the Oppressed discusses the importance of a praxis in which to "speak a true word is to transform the world."[8] Mao makes a similar point on the importance of knowledge, directly or indirectly learned, making an impact on the world.

> But Marxism emphasizes the importance of theory precisely and only because it can guide action....The active function of knowledge manifests itself not only in the active leap from perceptual to rational knowledge, but--and this is more important- it must manifest itself in the leap from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice.[9]

It is here that Mao laid the groundwork for the "red and expert" phase which was to capture so much attention during the cultural revolution. Not only was knowledge to be directly experienced, but it was also to lead to rev-

olutionary practice. This is Friere's thesis also in his praxis of action, and reflection. When action occurs without reflection it becomes mere activism, and when reflection occurs without action, the word becomes and "alienated and alienating blah."[10]

Mao and the Gang of Four as representatives of the radical educational faction recognized this contradiction, but chose to emphasize action, at what the revisionists regarded as a severe cost to reflection, while Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-Ping chose an emphasis upon reflection at great cost to revolutionary practice. Mao concludes his essay On Practice with a call to the people to:

> Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge...Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge...such is the dialectical- materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing.[11]

It was during the Cultural Revolution that the emphasis upon "doing" in the Marxist dialectic reached its zenith, and it has been since Vice Premier Teng's April 22, 1978 speech on education that the emphasis has dramatically shifted to "knowing." But that is getting ahead of the story.

The "two lines" in education were present in the earliest days of the Chinese communist party and struggle between them has continued unabated up to the present day. A temporary constitution was issued in 1949 after the defeat of the Kuomintang, and in the various educational articles in the first constitution, one sees a continued emphasis upon experience-based learning.

> Article 41: ..training personnel for national construction work...serving the people.
> Article 42: Love for the fatherland and the people, love of labour...
> Article 43: Efforts shall be made to develop the natural sciences to place them at the service of industrial, agricultural and national defence construction...
> Article 47:..technical education shall be stressed, the education of workers during their spare time...[12]

With few teachers trained in the new methods and having the correct ideological perspective, the initial years saw few attempts at bringing theory and practice, action and reflection together.

Part of this was no doubt due to the Soviet influence upon Chinese education in the early years, with their emphasis upon classroom lectures, and formal and authoritarian methods. The mass literacy campaigns of the early 1950's were one of the few examples on non-formal, experience-based learning during this period, as the rural peasants were taught to read characters important to their work as farmers, and were even encouraged to produce their own textbooks. These literacy campaigns were also carried into the factories, where workers studied during their work-breaks and taught each other.

The Hundred Flowers Campaign in May, 1956 began the process of upsetting the conservative, revisionist forms of education, but it wasn't until the Great Leap Forward in 1958, that substantive, experiential modes of learning once again became the focus, as they had some twenty years earlier in Yenan. The Central Committee of the Party issued an important document in June of 1958, titled Education Must be Combined with Productive Labour, which was the first post-liberation educational document directly dealing with experience-based learning for the formal and non-formal educational systems of China.

> We insist on the educational principle of all-round development. We consider that the only method to train human beings in all-round development is to educate them to serve working-class politics and combine education with productive labour...The chief mistake or defect in our educational work has been the divorce of education from productive labour..Because the principle of combining education with productive labour is beginning to go into operation, with schools setting up their own factories and farms, and factories and agricultural co-operatives establishing their own schools on a large scale, the phenomenon of students who are at the same time workers and peasants, and of workers and peasants who are students at the same time is beginning to appear.[13]

This was also the time that the beginnings of decentralizaiton were to be observed in the Chinese educational system, and the attack on "professional" teachers, which was to reach violent proportions ten to fifteen years later was started. Half-work, half-study schools were begun, affirmative action programs for children of peasant families were started at the universities, and students became involved in all kinds of industrial activities, including the famous or infamous "back yard blast furnaces." From a foreign capitalist

perspective, the Great Leap Forward was an unmitigated disaster, but from the perspective of Mao and other revolutionaries, it helped to bring about a raised level of consciousness on the part of peasants, who for the first time had some of the veil of mystery ripped away from the processes of modernization and industrialization. This process is what has come to be known as "conscientizacao," or critical consciousness, in which the peasant comes to understand himself and his society. Friere and his followers have capitalized on the lessons learned during the Great Leap Forward in their work with peasant cultures in other Third World countries.

Experience-based learning suffered in the early sixties, as revisionists led by Liu Shao-Chi attacked the economic failures of the Great Leap Forward, and branded the various experimental educational programs started as second-class, inferior institutions, while at the same time exploiting their existence to create a dual system, with full-time schools on the Soviet model for the elites, and half-work, half-study schools for the proletariat. The revolutionaries were increasingly concerned that the young people who had not grown up in the revolutionary period, but had only known comparative security and better living standards, would lose or had never gained a revolutionary zeal, and that the"revisionists" with their continued emphasis upon a Soviet elitist educational model were helping to perpetuate these problems.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was the result of numerous internal and external forces, which have been dealt with in great detail by numerous Chinese and foreign scholars. We shall only concern ourselves here with those documents and actions which affected non-formal approaches to education during the critical period of Chinese educational history. The date May 7, 1966 has become one of the most important dates in Chinese history. On that date Mao gave one of his most important speeches, in which among other things he stated:

> While their main task is to study, they should, in addition to their studies, learn other things, that is, industrial work, farming and military affairs.

> They should also criticize the bourgeoisie. The period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionised, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should by no means be allowed to continue.[14]

This call to a revolutionary education was echoed on August 8 by the Central Committee in their 16-point decision, which stated among other things,

> In the great proletarian Cultural Revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principals and methods of teaching...In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labour so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually, and physically and to become labourers with socialist consciousness and culture.[15]

By mid-1966 almost all schools, colleges and universities had stopped offering formal instruction, and the buildings were turned into centers for the discussion of politics and revolutionary practice, thus the world's largest nation effectively "deschooled" itself several years prior to Ivan Illich's coining that phrase.[16] Whether the chaos, political, economic and educational, which was wrought by the Red Guards in the next few years could be called experience-based learning is a matter of some debate, as it appears that most of what went on was in the nature of intellectual posturing and political rhetoric, rather than actively involving young people in the ongoing work of the society.

One aspect of the Red Guards' activities presaged Maurice Gibbons' idea of a "Walkabout" as a rite of passage for American youth. Gibbons took his idea from the Australian film, Walkabout, and suggested that contemporary youth in developed societies desperately needed a meaningful rite of passage, and that this could best be achieved through five basic challenges ehich students would be required to complete before High School graduation. These challenges were:

1. Adventure: a challenge to the student's daring, endurance, and skill in an unfamiliar environment.
2. Creativity: a challenge to explore, cultivate, and express his own imagination in some aesthetically pleasing form.
3. Service: a challenge to identify a human need for assistance and provide it; to express caring without expectation of reward.
4. Practical Skill: a challenge to explore a utilitarian activity, to learn the knowledge and skills necessary to work in that field, and to produce something of use.
5. Logical Inquiry: a challenge to explore one's curiosity, to formulate a question or problem of personal importance, and to pursue an answer or solution systematically and, wherever appropriate, by investigation.[17]

It is, no doubt, stretching the comparison too far to say that the Red Guards were on their own Walkabout, but the excitement of moving outside the classroom walls, trips to Peking for political action, working the the countryside, writing wall-posters, conducting political action in the factories and communes, and perhaps for the first time having a real sense of political and personal power is very similar to the excitement caused by Gibbons' ideas when they first hit the American press. The major difference, however, between the two societies is that the Red Guards had the political power structure on their side in their attempt to break down the walls of the school and deschool the society, while American students found only a few national commissions on their side, and the vast majority of the political, economic and educational establishments firmly opposed to much change in the status quo. Thus, while Chinese adolescents were taking power into their own hands, American youth were being forcefully herded back into their schools, and if the message didn't get through clearly enough, the National Guards were called out to deal forcefully with the threat. When the excesses of the Red Guards became too great for even their revolutionary elders, they too were returned to their classrooms, but not until one of the most interesting, and possibly disastrous, educational experiments in history had been conducted.

As part of the continuing process at breaking down the school walls, the three-in-one alliances of workers or peasants, Liberation Army members and teachers and students were formed in 1967 to work out the new educational system. At this time, many schools formed their own factories or established direct links with factories. University students went out to factories and construction projects to carry out research and investigations, resulting in proposals for mergers of factories and universities into a new

communal arrangement, which would effectively break down the ivory-tower nature of academia. It was also at this time that the decentralization moves reached their peak, with attempts made to adapt the curriculum to the needs of each local school. In addition to decentralizing the curriculum, it was also made simpler, with a stress placed on a combination of theory and practice. Courses were merged or abolished, with the following five courses remaining at the primary level: productive labour, military training and physical culture, revolutionary literature and art, arithmetic, and politics and language. At the secondary level, in addition to productive labour, military training, and revolutionary literature, Mao Tse-Tung Thought and agriculture were added. These latter two courses were to combine all of Chinese history and political thought in the case of Mao's Thought, and in the case of agriculture, the course was to be a practical application of mathematics, physics, chemistry and economic geography. All other courses were dropped from the curriculum.

It was also during this time that Mao revived his phrase, "Serve the People," with the resultant campaign to send city youth to the countryside. Students soon learned that the correct response as to where they would like to work was, "wherever I am needed," and with that, tens of thousands were sent to the frontiers and into the poor rural areas to work with the peasants. This caught on with the young, somewhat in the same manner as the Peace Corps captured the attention of American youth, but the riots in Shanghai in 1979, and the fact that large numbers of youth secretly returned to the city are evidence that, in spite of the initial excitement over the change to combine education with productive labour and put one's theoretical training into practice, a large portion of the students were not wholeheartedly involved in this non-formal schooling effort.

There were numerous other examples of experiential learning during the Cultural Revolution. One of the interesting phrases coined to put down the traditional elitist education was the "ninth category of stinking intellectuals." For a society which for thousands of years had venerated the intellectual, this attack led to extreme discomfort for university professors and school teachers, many of whom were stripped of their titles, made to wear dunce caps, and to suffer other forms of humiliation. It was reported to us, that in one university alone, several faculty took their own lives after suffering extreme humiliation. Only in late 1978, were faculty members rehabilitated, many of them posthumously.

Two institutions were started during the Cultural Revolution, which were specifically geared to out-of-school, non-formal, experience based learning. The first of these was the May 7 cadre schools, which were started as centers for thought-rectification and involved political study, manual labor, criticism and self-criticism for cadres. These schools were founded to deal with the problem faced by not only other socialist societies such as the Soviet Union, but the the United States and other capitalist nations, in which officialdom tends to become a special interest group, and in effect a new ruling class. In the initial years of the May 7 cadre schools, the emphasis was upon political study, and the attendance was seen as somewhat of a punishment for inappropriate bureaucratic behavior and attitudes. In recent years, the schools have taken on more of an in-service training function, in addition to continuing the tradition of living the simple, rural life, and informants stated that promotions were dependent upon attendance at these schools. Hard physical labor is meant to give the bureaucrats an empathy and understanding of the problems of the Chinese peasant population. Combined with work in the fields, the

cadres build their own buildings, clear land, and in many cases work in small factories located on the premises of the school.

Mao Tse-tung, in his directive of July 21, 1968, praised the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant No. 1 for their attempts at combining theory and practice in what was to become known as the July 21st Worker's University. These institutions of "higher education," operate in a factory setting to provide full-time training in the classroom and on-the-job to prepare engineers and technicians. Students are selected by their fellow workers, and many classes are taught by workers, not just "stinking intellectuals." All students have work experience before receiving the advanced training, and all continue to receive their full pay and benefits while attending school. The reason the university title could be applied to this unique job related institution is the fact that scientists and engineers from the universities collaborated directly with the worker-teachers in planning the curriculum and in teaching.[18]

Some 67 polytechnic institutes or universities established contacts with 2,825 factories, mines and people's communes during the Cultural Revolution. It wasn't just technical and engineering subjects which were taken outside the traditional classroom setting, but also the humanities used society as a workshop, with students going out among the people to carry out their research projects. At Tsinghoua University in 1974 alone, "worker-peasant-soldier" graduates carried out 360 projects in practical work and according to the reports, "Achieved better results than any intake of students of the former, pre-cultural revolution university had ever been able to obtain."[19]

At the middle school level, factories run by schools produce a broad range of products. At the Yehkochuang village middle school, the students

produce an insect lamp which was a boon to farming because it destroys dozens of insects. Students learn not only basic theories, but in addition, they learn the "practical needs of the countryside,"[20] Accountancy is taught in the marketing of the products, mechanics are trained on the farm machinery, and all kinds of mathematics are taught in the fields of the commune.

Graduation examinations also took on a practical side during the Cultural Revolution with students from Peking University being sent out to solve practical problems, rather than taking final examinations.

> Formerly the students racked their brains to write graduation papers in the library or study rooms. But after graduation their papers were pigeonholed in the library...The topics now come from scientific research tasks set by government departments, from urgent problems in socialist construction and research items raised by the university's own factories.[21]

These are but a few of the many types of practical, on-the-job, non-formal, experience-based types of experiments carried out during the Cultural Revolution. In the final section of this paper, we shall turn our attention to what has happened to these reforms since Mao's death in 1976, the arrest of the gang of four, and more particularly since Vice-Premier Teng's address on education on April 22, 1978.

With the "Revolution of the Superstructure" in 1976, dramatic changes were begun in the society and the educational system. Clark Kerr has outlined the major contradictions between the two lines, and the current position of the government on each.

> "Red" versus "expert," with the current emphasis on the expert and thus on meritocracy
> Modernization versus egalitarianism, with the current emphasis upon modernization but not without an ongoing "tug of war"
> Rural versus urban, with the current emphasis on urban and industrial development
> Discipline versus constant mass participation (even mob rule), with the current emphasis upon discipline
> Trained intellect versus political spirit, with the current emphasis on the training of intellect

> The blooming of a "hundred flowers" versus the single correct "line," with the current emphasis on a carefully and cautiously chosen "hundred flowers."
> Bureaucrats versus "the people," with the bureaucrats again in an enhanced position
> Academic versus revolutionary (social justice in admissions, creation of the "new man," politics triumphant) models of education, with the present emphasis almost totally on the academic model.
> Hard work versus revolutionary politics, with "hard work" and "promote production" the current themes[22]

Kerr has captured the major changes in the educational system, changes which have been documented by countless other observers of the Chinese educational system in the past year. Vice-Premier Teng's speech at the National Educational Work Conference was given at the time of Kerr's visit, and about one month prior to our own visit. That speech is a classic attempt to redefine Mao Tse-tung thought along obviously revisionist lines, and it was widely reported to us to have been received with great joy and even tears on the part of teachers, who had suffered greatly under the Cultural Revolution.

Teng once again reiterated the fundamental principle of Mao that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour," but went on to claim that the gang of four had "wilfully distorted and trampled" the principle, causing grave damage to the educational system. He roundly condemned the gang of four for not making strict demands on students, and then reiterated another of Mao's dictums, that the students' main task is to study, and as almost an afterthought, said that they should, of course, not just learn book knowledge, but industrial and agricultural production. His emphasis, however, was on "studying," and learning "book knowledge." He went on to reinterpret Mao's comments on examinations, saying that the Chairman "never opposed examinations as such," only "surprise attacks."

A second major area of Teng's concern in his speech was the need to "strengthen revolutionary order and discipline," adding once again that this would lead to a new generation with a socialist consciousness and revolutionize the society. The gang of four were accused of making not only "illiterates" but "hoolingans," and that the schools under the new period of the "four modernizations" should inculcate a style of "learning diligently, observing discipline, loving physical labour, taking pleasure in helping others, working hard and daring to fight the enemy."

The egalitarian ethic of the Cultural Revolution also took a beating, as Teng stated that "we have to admit the disparity in the abilities and moral qualities of different people, which will surface in the course of their development." From now on, only students who are outstanding on their "moral, intellectual and physical levels" would be permitted to go on for further education, an obvious move towards being "expert" rather than "red" under the new regime.

Of greatest concern to our topic in this paper was Teng's call for a reevaluation of the experience-based learning programs which had become such and important part of the education system in the previous decade. He did not directly call for their abandonment, but stated that schools should rethink their time schedules for combining labour and teaching, and the times spent in the rural areas and factories.

Needless to say, this was all that the teachers and administrators needed for one of the most rapid abandonments of an educational reform movement in history. By the time of our visit to China in May and June of 1978, stiff examinations had been reinstituted for university entrance, youth in the countryside were beginning what has turned out to be a mass return to the cities, young people were no longer required to work for two years prior to

university attendance, much of the production work in the schools appeared to us to be insignificant or busy-work, and the curriculum had been changed so that considerably less time was spent in agricultural work or production work. "Back the the Basics" was the theme, and although we never hear that exact phrase, teachers and administrators told us time and again of the need for basic reading and computational skills on the part of the "lost generation."

How much of the educational revolution really took hold in the sixties and seventies and how much of it was but a paper reform is difficult to judge, but it does appear that the educational system of the People's Republic of China in 1979, more closely resembles that of many other Third World countries with an emphasis on dictation, discipline and basics, than it does the revolutionary ideals of Mao, Lenin or Castro.

Footnotes

[1]Mao Tse-tung, "On Practice," Four Essays on Philosophy (Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1968), p. 8.

[2]John Dewey, Experience and Education (New York: Collier Books, 1963)

[3]Edgar Snot, Red Star Over China (New York: Penguin Books, 1972)

[4]Mao Tse-tung, op.cit., pp. 3-4.

[5]Lenin, as quoted by Mao Tse-tung, Ibid., p. 8.

[6]Mao Tse-tung, op.cit., p.7.

[7]Ibid., p.8.

[8]Paolo Friere, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York:The Seabury Press,1973),p.75.

[9]Mao Tse-tung, op.cit. p.14.

[10]Friere, opcit., p.76.

[11]Mao Tse-tung, op.cit. p.20.

[12]Stewart Fraser, editor, Chinese Communist Education (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1965), p.76.

[13]Ibid., pp. 293-297.

[14]Mao Tse-tung, May 7, 1966.

[15]"16 Points," Peking Review,August 12, 1966.

[16]Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society (New York: Harrow Books, 1970).

[17]Maurice Gibbons, "Walkabout," Phi Delta Kappan (May, 1974), pp.599-600.

[18]China Reconstructs, Peking, July, 1973.

[19]Souen Houa, "Combining Theory with Practice," Prospects (Vol.5, No.4), p.488.

[20]Fang Hsueh, "Visit to a Village Middle School on Peking Outskirts," Prospects (Vol. 5, No. 4), p. 496.

[21]Tung Yi, "A New Type of University Graduation Examination,"Prospects (Vol.5, No.4), p.497.

[22]Clark Kerr, "The Great Chinese Cultural Reversal:Education," in Observations on the Relations Between Education and Work in the People's Republic of China (Berkeley: The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education,1978),p.3.